

The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples

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Ka-no-ka-Fa-tso.

Pin-tu-lo-Po-lo-to-shê.

第二 迦諾迦 尊者



住在
漏羅國

第一 跋闍 尊者



住在西瞿耶尼州

第四 蘓頻陀 尊者



住在北俱
盧洲

第三 跋闍 尊者



住在東勝
身洲

Su-p'in-t'ê.

Ka-no-ka-Po-li-tou-shê.

Po-t'ê-lo.

No-kü-lo.

第六 跋陀羅尊者

住在
旃
沒羅洲



第五 諾矩羅尊者

住在
南瞻
部洲



第八 弗多羅尊者

住在
鉢
刺
擎洲



第七 迦哩尊者

住在
僧
伽
茶洲



Fa-shê-lo-fuh-to-lo.

Ka-li-ka.

第十半諾迦尊者

第九戌博迦尊者



第十二那伽犀那尊者

第十一羅怛羅尊者



Fa-na-p'o-ssü.

Yin-kie-t'ê.

者_レ尊_レ斯_レ婆_レ那_レ伐_レ 第十四



者_レ尊_レ陀_レ揭_レ因_レ 第十三



者_レ尊_レ迎_レ半_レ託_レ注_レ茶_レ 第十六



者_レ尊_レ多_レ氏_レ阿_レ 第十五



Chu-ch'a (t'a)-Pan-t'o-ka.

A-shih-to.

THE EIGHTEEN LOHAN OF CHINESE BUDDHIST TEMPLES

WHEN you enter the chief hall of a Buddhist temple in China you cannot fail to notice two rows of large yellow figures—one along the east and the other along the west wall. These figures, which are usually numbered and labelled, are called the Eighteen Lohan, and if you ask your guide what they are he will probably reply “belong joss.” This answer may not be deemed satisfactory, but further inquiry will only elicit the information that these are images of Buddha’s eighteen great disciples. The names, however, show that this information is not quite correct, some of them

being unknown to the original Buddhist canon. If you go on to Korea and visit the curious old Buddhist temples in that country, you will find that Buddha's Hall has rows of similar figures, but sixteen in number. If you continue your journey and visit Japan, you will find there also sixteen Rakan lining the side walls of the Buddhist temples. Lohan and Rakan are for A-lo-han, the Chinese way of expressing the Sanskrit word Arhan for Arhat. Suppose you could go back and travel to Lhassa, there also you would find sixteen Arhats, or, as they are called there, Sthaviras, in the Chief Hall of Buddha's temples. Tibet, however, seems to have also its Eighteen Lohan, imported from China apparently in modern times.

When we examine the Buddhist literature preserved in the libraries of the great monasteries in China, we find in it mention of only sixteen great Arhats, the number eighteen being

apparently unknown even to the comparatively modern native treatises. As for the pictures and images of these sixteen, they are mainly derived from the works of one or two painters of the T'ang dynasty. About the year 880 an artist named Kuan Hsiu (貫休) made pictures of the Sixteen Lohan, which were given to a Buddhist monastery near Ch'ien-t'ang in the province of Chekiang. These became celebrated, and were preserved with great care and treated with ceremonious respect. In the reign of Kien-lung, of the present dynasty, an official, while on duty in the district, had copies of these pictures made by competent artists and sent them to the emperor. His Majesty had further copies made, and ordered them to be printed and distributed. It was found that wrong names had been given to several of the figures, so the emperor ordered that all the names should be compared with the original and correctly

transcribed according to the new system. But the question remains, who are these Arhats? and the answer is to be found in the Buddhist scriptures. They are patrons and guardians of Sakyamuni Buddha's system of religion and its adherents, lay and clerical.

An early mention of spiritual protectors of Buddha's religion after his decease is found in the "Sūtra of Śāriputra's Questions," No. 1,152 in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue. We do not know when or by whom this book was translated or when it was brought to China, but its translation has been referred to the fourth century of our era. In this treatise the Buddha is represented as committing his religion to the protection of Śakra and the four Devarājas. He also entrusts the propagation of his system after his death to four "Great Bhikshus." The names of these are given as Mahākāśyapa, Pindola, Kun-tê-pan-t'an, and Rāhula. These men were to remain in existence and not

experience final Nirvāṇa until the advent of Maitreya as Buddha. Three of these names are well known, and the unknown one is apparently the Kun-t'ou-p'o-han (君頭波漢) of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" (ch. 23). These characters evidently represent the Pali name Kundo-vahan, which means *Mongoose-bearing*, a name to be remembered in connection with what follows. The composition of this sūtra may probably be referred to the end of the last century B.C. Then in a śāstra, the name of which is restored as "Ārya-Vasumitra-bodhisattva-saṅgitī-śāstra," Nanjio, No. 1,289, we find mention of sixteen "Brahmans" over whom Buddha is lord. These are probably the Sixteen Arhats, although a note added to the text gives the name of the second one as Ajita-Maitreya. This treatise, which was probably composed in the first century of our era, was translated in the year 384.

In another treatise called the "Ju-ta-shêng-lun," the "Mahāyānāvataṛaka-

śāstra" of Nanjio, No. 1,243, we have further mention of guardians of Buddhism. Here we have ninety-nine *lakhs* of "great arhats" and also sixteen called "Great Srāvakas." Of these only two names are given, Pindola and Rāhula, the reader being supposed to be acquainted with the sūtras from which the author quotes. These guardians of Buddha's religion are dispersed over the world, the names of some of their spheres being given. Among these are Pūrva-Videha, the Wheat (Godhūma) region, the Chestnut (Priyangu) region, the Lion (Simha) region, and the "Bhadrika place." This śāstra was composed by the learned Buddhist Sthiramati, and translated into Chinese by Tao-t'ai and others about A.D. 400.

The text, however, from which all our knowledge of the names of the Sixteen Arhats or Lohan of Buddhist temples in China, Japan, and Korea may be said to be derived is that entitled "Ta-A-lohan-Nan-t'i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi."

This means "The record of the duration of the law, spoken by the great Arhat Nandimitra." The treatise, which was translated by the celebrated Yuan-chuang (Hiouen Thsang), is No. 1,466 in Nanjio's Catalogue. The name of the author is not known, but he must have lived long after the time of Nandimitra, and apparently he was not a native of that arhat's country. There seems to have been also a previous translation of the same or a similar original, and to it Yuan-chuang and other writers appear to have been indebted.

The book begins with the statement that according to tradition within 800 years from Buddha's decease there was an arhat named Nandimitra at the capital of King Shêng-chün (勝軍) in the Chih-shih-tzū (執師子) country. Nanjio took Shêng-chün to be Prasenajit and Chih-shih-tzū to be Ceylon according to the Chinese notes in the "Hsi-yü-chi." But

Prasenajit's capital was Śrāvastī in Kosala, and we do not find any king with that name in the annals of Ceylon. The "Chih-shih-tzū" country of this passage is probably the Shih-tzū-kuo which we know from the 16th chapter of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" was in the Vrijjian territory. The original home of the Aryan immigrants into Ceylon was not far from this district, and the name Simhala-dvipa may have been derived from this Lion-country. The words *Shêng-chün* may stand for either Prasenajit or Jayasena.¹

¹ The "Chih-shih-tzū-kuo" of this sūtra and the "Shih-tzū-kuo" of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" are probably the *Simhadvīpa* of Schiefner's "Tāranātha," S. 83. This last cannot be Ceylon, and the mention of the *Lusthain* in it reminds us of the *garden* in the Shih-tzū-kuo. In the Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 8, we have mention of a Shih-tzū district which lay between Śrāvastī and Rājagriha. The "Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi," ch. 33, makes Nandimitra's date to be 100 years after Buddha's decease.

The sūtra then proceeds to narrate how the great Arhat Nandimitra answered the questions of his perplexed and desponding congregation about the possible continued existence of Buddhism in the world. He tells his hearers that the Buddha when about to die entrusted his religion to sixteen great Arhats. These men are to watch over and care for the religious welfare of the lay-believers and generally protect the spiritual interests of Buddhism. They are to remain in existence all the long time until Maitreya appears as Buddha and brings in a new system. Then, according to Nandimitra, the Sixteen Arhats will collect all the relics of Sakyamuni and build over them a magnificent tope. When this is finished they will pay their last worship to the relics, rising in the air and doing pradakshina to the tope. Then they will enter an igneous ecstasy and so vanish in

remainderless nirvāna. At his hearers' request Nandimitra gives the names of these Protectors of the Faith, their homes or spheres of action, and the numbers of their retinues. These Arhats are the Sixteen Rakan of the Japanese and Koreans and constitute sixteen of the Eighteen Lohan of the Chinese. They have incense burnt before their images, but generally speaking they are not worshipped or consulted like the gods and P'usas of the temples.

The names of the Sixteen Arhats or Lohan, together with their residences and retinues, are now given according to this sūtra of the Duration of the Law and in the order in which that work gives them. Variations as to the names which have been noticed in other lists and in different temples are also given. But as to the pictures and images of the sixteen we must remember that these, whether merely works of art or consecrated to

religion, are not supposed to be faithful representations of the men indicated by the names attached. The pictures and images are to be taken merely as symbols or fanciful creations.¹

1. Pin-tu-lo-Po-lo-to-shê (資度羅跋囉憍闍),
Pindola the Bhāradvāja.

He has a retinue of 1,000 arhats, and his place is the Godhānga region in the west.

Sometimes the name of this arhat is transcribed Pin-t'ou (頭)-lo, and sometimes he is styled Bharadvāja simply.

Pindola was one of Buddha's great disciples, became an arhat, and was distinguished as a successful disputant and defender of orthodoxy, with a voice

¹ For illustrations and details of the Lohan see Anderson's "Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum"; Pandar's "Das Pantheon d. Tschangtscha Hutuktu," S. 83 f.; Hsiang-chiao-p'i-pien (象教皮編), ch. 2.

like the roar of a lion.¹ But he had a weakness for exhibiting his magical powers before all sorts of people, and sometimes for unworthy objects. On one occasion, according to the Pali and other editions of the Vinaya, in order to show his superhuman powers, he rose in the air, took a sandal-wood bowl off a very high pole, and floated about with it for a time over the heads of an admiring crowd. This proceeding brought a severe rebuke from the Master, and was the occasion of a rule prohibiting the use of sandal-wood bowls.² The Buddha also on this occasion announced to Pindola that he was not to "take Nirvāṇa, but was to remain in existence and protect Buddha's system until the coming of Maitreya.³ We read also of

¹ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3 (Bun., No. 543, tr. A.D. 385); Fo-shuo-a-lo-han-chü-tê-ching (Bun., No. 897, tr. about 900).

² Vinaya Texts, iii, p. 79.

³ Ch'ing-Pin-t'ou-lu-ching (or -fa) (Bun., No. 1,348, tr. 457).

Pindola working a miracle with a hill in order to go to a breakfast given by Sudatta's wife, and some make this to be the occasion on which Buddha rebuked him and told him he was to remain in existence to foster Buddhism until the advent of Maitreya to bring in a new system.¹ But Pindola sometimes wrought miracles for good purposes, and his exhibition of magical powers at Rajagriha led to the conversion of an unbelieving lady.²

Pindola has been living ever since Buddha's time, and he has appeared on several occasions to pious workers for Buddhism. In India it was once the custom for lay believers when giving an entertainment to the Buddhist monks to "invite Pindola." The arhat could not be seen, but the door was left open for

¹Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 23 (Bun., No. 544, tr. between 420 and 479).

²Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 20.

him, and it was known by the appearance of the flowers or the condition of the mat reserved for him whether he had been present.¹ When King Asoka summoned his great assembly Pindola was living on the Gandhamāli (or Gandhamādāna) mountain with a company of arhats 60,000 in number. Called to the assembly, he flew swan-like to the place of meeting, and on account of his undoubted seniority he was chosen president. He was then a very old man with white hair and long eyebrows, which he had to hold back with his hands in order to see.² As he often has very long eyebrows in his pictures and images, the Chinese have come to know him popularly as the "Ch'ang-mei-sêng" or "Long-eyebrowed Monk." But Lohans with other names also have this characteristic in the fancy portraits

¹ Ch'ing-Pin-t'ou-lu-ching.

² Divyāvadana, p. 402; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 397; Tsa-a-han-ching, l.c.

which adorn temples and pictures. When Vasubandhu meditated suicide Pindola by his mystic powers knew the fact and went from Pūrvavideha to dissuade the pious philosopher from the act.

In the seventh century Pindola came to China and appeared to Tao-hsüan (道宣), the great Vinaya doctor, and signified his approval of the work which that zealous monk had been doing.¹

We find the name Pindola explained in Chinese commentaries as meaning *Pu-tung* or Unmoved, but this cannot have been intended for a translation of the word. The Tibetans give "Alms-receiver" as the equivalent, connecting the name with pinda, but it may have been derived from the name of a place transcribed Pin-t'ou in Chinese. This was a town or village in the Kosala country in Buddha's time. In a far-back existence Pindola had been a bad

¹ Ta-Sung-sêng-shi-liao (大宋僧史略), ch. 2.

son and a cruel man, and owing to his bad Karma he had to suffer in hell for a very long period. Here his food was "tiles and stones," and even when he was born to be a pious arhat of wonderful powers, he retained a tendency to live on "tiles and stones."¹ We cannot wonder that he was thin and ribbed.

Some pictures and images represent Pindola sitting and holding a book in one hand and his alms-bowl in the other; others have him holding a book reverently in both hands; and sometimes we find him with an open book on one knee and a mendicant's staff at his side.

2. Ka-no-ka-Fa-tso (迦諾迦伐蹉), Kanaka the Vatsa.

This arhat is appointed to Kashmir with a retinue of 500 other arhats. He was originally a disciple of Buddha, and it was said of him that he comprehended

¹Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ie-yu Vinaya Yao-shi, ch. 16 (tr. by I-ching about 710).

all systems good and bad.¹ The Tibetans, in their usual manner, have translated the name literally "Gold calf."

3. Ka-no-ka-Po-li-tou-shê (迦諾迦跋釐檳闍),
Kanakanā the Bhāradvāja.

This arhat's station is in the Pūrva-Videha region, and he has 600 arhats under his authority. He is sometimes pictured as a very hairy old man, and some paintings give him a small disciple at his side.

4. Su-p'in-t'ê (蘇頻陀), Subhinda.

His sphere of action is the Kuru country in the north, and he has a retinue of 800 arhats.

This name does not occur in several of the lists, but it is found in the temples in China, Korea, and Japan. Instead of it we find occasionally Nandimitra, and the new recension and the Tibetan give A-pi-ta (阿必達), which may be for Abhida. The Tibetan translation of the name is

¹ Fo-shuo-a-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

inseparable or *indissoluble*, and this seems to point to an original like Abhinda or Abhida.

This arhat appears as a venerable sage with a scroll in his right hand, or as sitting in an attitude of meditation. He is also represented as sitting with an alms-bowl and an incense-vase beside him, holding a sacred book in the left hand, while with the right he "cracks his fingers." This gesture is indicative of the rapidity with which he attained spiritual insight.

5. No-kü-lo (諾 短 羅), Nakula.

The sphere of this arhat's action is Jambudvipa, that is, India, and his retinue is composed of 800 arhats.

This name is found in the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese temples, but in some lists instead of it we find Pa-ku-la (巴 古 拉) or P'u-kü-lo (薄 拘 羅), that is, Vakula. This was the name of one of Buddha's great disciples, often men-

tioned in the scriptures. Vakula became an arhat, but he led a solitary, self-contained life; he never had a disciple and he never preached a word. He was remarkable for his wonderful exemption from bodily ailments and for the great length of life to which he attained. When King Asoka visited his tope and showed his contempt for Vakula by offering a penny, the arhat was equal to the occasion and refused the coin.¹

We must, however, go by Yuan-chuang's text and read Nakula. This word means *Mongoose*, and we remember the arhat called Kundo-vahan or Mongoose-bearer already mentioned. We read also of a Nakula's father, in Pali Nakula-pitā, who became a devoted lay adherent of Buddha's teaching. Nakula was a Vrijjian resident at Uruvilva, but we do not find much about him in the scriptures. He may be the same

¹Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, chs. 3, 23.

person with Nakulapitā converted when he was 120 years old, but made young and happy by Buddha's teaching.¹

Nakula is often represented, as in the Tibetan picture, with a mungoose as his emblem, and sometimes instead of that animal he has a three-legged frog under his left arm. Sometimes he is represented as meditating or as teaching with a little boy by his side.

6. Po-t'ê-lo (跋陀羅), Bhadra.

This arhat was appointed to T'an-mo-lo-Chow, that is, Tāmra-dvīpa or Ceylon, and he was given a retinue of 900 other arhats. We sometimes find him called Tāmra Bhadra, apparently from the name of his station.

The Bhadra of the Buddhist scriptures was a cousin of the Buddha and one of his great disciples. He was a good preacher, and could expand in clear and simple language the Master's teaching.

¹ Tsa-a-han-chin, ch. 5; A-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

Hence he is often represented as expounding the contents of a book which he holds in one hand. He took his profession very seriously and aimed at spiritual perfection.

Bhadra often appears in pictures and images accompanied by a tiger which he soothes or restrains, but he is also represented without the tiger and in an attitude of worship.

7. Ka-li-ka (迦理迦), Kalika or Kāla.

This arhat has 1,000 other arhats under him and resides in Sêng-ka-t'a (僧伽茶). This has been supposed to be Ceylon, but it is evidently the name of some other region. The Chinese characters may stand for Simhatā, and something like this may have been the name of the "Lion country" in the Vrijjian territory already mentioned.¹

¹In the Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 8, we find mention of the "Lion Town" which lay between Srāvasti and Rajagriha.

This arhat is apparently the great disciple called "Lion King Kāla" (師子王迦羅), who attained arhatship and was honoured by King Bimbisara.¹ He is represented as studying a scroll or sitting in meditation, or holding a leaf of a tree, or he has extremely long eyebrows which he holds up from the ground.

8. Fa-shê-lo-fuh-to-lo (伐闍羅弗多羅),
Vajraputra.

He has 1,100 arhats and resides in the Po-la-na (鉢剌拏), division of the world, that is, in Parna-dvīpa perhaps.

In some temples and lists of the Lohan the name is given as Vajriputra. This may be the Vajjiput of the village of the same name who became a disciple and attained to arhatship.² He is represented as very hairy, or as very lean and ribbed.

¹ Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 17.

² Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 29.

9. Shu-po-ka (戌博迦), Supāka perhaps.

This arhat is stationed on the Gandhamādāna mountain and has an establishment of 900 arhats.

Instead of the character for Shu we find in some places Kie (戒), that is Ka, making the name Kapaka, but this is evidently wrong. In the new transcription we have Kuo-pa-ka, that is, Gopaka. The Tibetans have the two Chinese transcriptions Kapaka and Supāka, but their translation is Sbed-byed, which requires the form Gopaka (or Gopa), meaning *protector*. We do not know of any disciple of Buddha named Supaka, but we read of one named Gopaka, a sthavira at Pataliputra.

The representations of this arhat often show him with a small figure of a saint above his right shoulder or close to his side, but he also appears with a book or a fan in his hand.

10. Pan-t'o-ka (半託迦), Panthaka or Pantha.

This arhat's sphere is the Trayastrimśat Heaven, and he is attended by 1,300 arhats.

He is sometimes called simply Pantha or Panthaka, and sometimes Ta (大) or Mahā-Panthaka, Great Panthaka, to distinguish him from his young brother, who is No. 16 of this list. The name is explained as meaning *way* or *road*, or "born on the road," and a legend relates how it was given to the two boys because their births occurred by the roadside while their mother was making journeys.¹ But we find the name also explained as meaning "continuing the way," that is, propagating Buddhism, and the Tibetan translation gives "doctrine of the way" as its signification. But this explanation belongs rather to the younger bro-

¹ Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 5 (Bun., No. 1,290, tr. perhaps about 200).

ther, who also is frequently styled simply Pantha or Panthaka. We occasionally find in books Pa (or Sa)-na-ka for Panthaka, apparently a copyist's error. Pantha is also found transcribed Pan-t'a (般咄), and for the second syllable we find t'u (兔) or t'é (特).

Panthaka was distinguished as among the highest of Buddha's disciples, who "by thought aimed at excellence."¹ He was also expert in solving doubts and difficulties in doctrine for weaker vessels, and he had extraordinary magical powers.² He could pass through solids and shoot through the air, and cause fire and water to appear at pleasure. He could also reduce his own dimensions little by little until there was nothing left of him.³ These magical powers

¹ Abhidharma pa-kan-tu-lun, ch. 27 (Bun., No. 1,273, tr. 383).

² A-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

³ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3.

were called into request by Buddha when he made his expedition to subdue and convert the fierce dragon-king Aplāla.¹

The various pictures and images represent Panthaka as sitting under a tree or teaching from an open book, or as holding a scroll, or as sitting in profound meditation with his arms folded. He is also frequently depicted in the act of charming a dragon into his alms-bowl.

This Panthaka is not to be confounded with the Upasaka of the same name who accompanied Mahinda in his mission for the conversion of Ceylon.

11. Lo-hu-lo (羅怛囉), Rāhula.

To Rāhula was assigned the Priyañgu-dvīpa, a land of aromatic herbs,² and he had a suite of 1,000 arhats.

Rāhula, the son of Buddha, was distinguished as a disciple for his diligent

¹ Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, l.c.

² But the Chinese pilgrims were taught that *priyañgu* was the Indian name for the chestnut.

study of the canon and his uncompromising thorough strictness in carrying out the rules of his profession. He is often represented in pictures and images as having the large "umbrella-shaped" head, prominent eyes, and hooked nose which some books ascribe to him. But in many cases he is apparently represented without any distinctive features or attribute. It is his lot to die and return to this world as Budha's son for several times, and he is not to pass finally out of existence for a very long time. He appeared as a very old bhikshu with white bushy eyebrows to a Buddhist layman at a town not very far from Kusinagara some time before the time of Yuan-chuang. When the layman gave the old bhikshu boiled milk, the bhikshu sighed over it as being insipid like river water he once used when attending Buddha, and he then explained that he was Rāhula.

12. Na-ka-si-na (那伽犀那), Nāgasena.

This arhat was appointed to the Pantu-p'oo or Pāndava Mountain in Magadha, with a retinue of 1,200 arhats.

Nāgasena is, I think, the disciple called Seni (斯尼) in the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" and the "Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun." In the former this bhikshu is selected for praise as an orthodox expounder of the principles or essentials of Buddhism. The latter treatise also calls him first in exposition. It adds that he was a bhikshu thirty years before he attained arhatship, because he made the laying down of dogma the one chief thing postponing to this release from sin, that he was skilled in analysis and the logical development of principles, and that he left a treatise embodying the results of his studies.¹

¹ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3; Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 5.

Now this Se-ni is, I think, the Nāgasena who composed the original work which was afterwards amplified into the "Questions of Milinda." In the "Tsa-pao-tsang-ching" we have this Nāgasena, called also Se-na, a man of commanding presence, proud and learned, subtle-minded and ready-witted, and he is put through a severe ordeal by a king called Nan-t'ê or Nanda.¹ Then these Nanda and Nāgasena are evidently the Min-lin-t'ê and Nāgasena of one translation of the "Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sāstra" and the Pi-lin-t'ê and Lung-chün, *Dragon-host* of the other translation.² They are also the Mi-lan and Na-hsien of the "Na-hsien-pi-chiu-

¹ Tsa-pao-tsang-ching, ch. 9 (Bun., No. 1,329, tr. 472).

² Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sāstra, ch. 22 (Bun., No. 1,269, tr. 565); Abhidharma-kośa-sāstra, ch. 30 (Bun., No. 1267, tr. 652).

ching”¹ and the Milinda and Nāgasena of the “Questions of Milinda.”²

This Nāgasena was, or was taken to be, a contemporary of the Buddha and Śāriputra, although he is also supposed to be living long after Buddha’s time. He is called *arhat* by the author of the introduction to the “Questions,” but in the body of the book he is not an arhat. In this treatise he defends against his cross-examiner the unity and consistency of Buddha’s teachings, and explains and expands hard doctrines with great learning and richness of illustration. He became the head of the Church in Milinda’s country to watch over and maintain Buddhist orthodoxy. His treatise must have existed in various lands and in different forms from a

¹ Na-hsien-pi-chiu-ching (Bun., No. 1,358, tr. between 317 and 420).

² “The Questions of King Milinda,” translated from the Pāli by T. W. Rhys Davids.

comparatively early period. The "Adhidharma-kosa-śastra" and the "Tsa-pao-tsang-ching" quote from a text which is neither the "Na-hsien-pi-chiu-ching" nor the "Questions," and these two last differ very much.

13. Yin-kie-t'ê (因揭陀), Añgida.

This arhat's station is the mountain called Kuang-hsie or Broad-side, that is, Vipulapārsva, and he has a retinue of 1,300 arhats. In one place I have seen *Mu* (目) instead of *Yin*, and the Tibetans have Añgija, but all other transcriptions are apparently either Añgida, or Añgila.

One of Buddha's great disciples was named Añgaja, and he was noted for the cleanness and fragrance of his body.¹ Another great disciple was Añgila, who was described as being perfect in all things.² These two names may possibly indicate only one person.

¹ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 3.

² A-lo-han-chü-tê-ching.

The Lohan called Añgida is sometimes the fat, jolly creature who is supposed to be Maitreya or his incarnation. Other pictures or images make him a lean old monk with a staff and a book containing Indian writing. This latter is the old traditional representation handed down from the period of the T'ang dynasty.

14. Fa-na-p'o-ssū (伐那婆斯), Vanavāsa.

A Korean temple has Fa-lo-p'o-ssū, giving Varavāsa, but all the other transcriptions seem to have Vanavāsa.

This arhat, who has a retinue of 1,400 other arhats, is stationed on the K'o-chu (可住) or Habitable Mountain. He is sometimes represented sitting in a cave meditating with eyes closed, or his hands make a *mudra*, or he nurses his right knee. He may be the great disciple called Vanakavasa in the "Tsa-a-han-ching," ch. 36.

15. A-shih-to (阿氏多), Asita or Ajita.

These characters do not represent Yuan-chuang's ordinary transcription

either for Asita or Ajita, and it is probable that here he adopted the transcription of a predecessor. The new authorized reading gives Ajita, and it is so in the Tibetan. But Ajita is Maitreya, and that Bodhisattva, according to all accounts, remains in Tushita Paradise until the time comes for him to become incarnate on this earth. So he cannot properly be a guardian of Sakyamuni's system, which must have passed away before he can become Buddha. We read of an Asita (阿氏多) who in the remote future is to attain Samyaksambodhi, that is, is to become Buddha.¹

This arhat, whom we may call Asita resides on the Gridhrakūta Mountain, and has 1,500 arhats in his suite. It cannot be that he is the old seer Asita who came from his distant home to see the newly-born infant who was to become Buddha. The images and pic-

¹ Abhidharma-shun-chêng li lun, ch. 1 (Bun. No. 1265).

tures generally represent the arhat as an old man with very long eyebrows, nursing his right knee or absorbed in meditation.

16. Chu-ch'a (t'a)-Pan-t'o-ka (注茶半託迦), Chota-Panthaka.

The first part of the name is also given as Chou-li (周利) or Chu-li (祝 or 朱利). These transcriptions stand for the Sanskrit Kshulla and Pāli Chulla (or Chūla), and Chota is a dialectic form still preserved in the vernacular. The words mean *little, small*, and this Panthaka received the above name in order to distinguish him from his elder brother already noticed. He is also called Hsiao-lu or Little Road, the elder brother being Ta-lu or Great Road.

Chota-Panthaka has a household of 1,600 arhats, and his station is the Īshādhara Mountain, a part of the great range of Sumeru.

As a disciple Little Pantha was at first and for a long time exceedingly dull and stupid, the result of bad Karma. He could not make any progress in the spiritual life, being unable to apply his mind or commit to memory even one stanza of doctrine.¹ He was accordingly slighted by the Brethren and their lay patrons, but the Master always had pity and patience. On one occasion the King invited Buddha and the disciples to breakfast, but Little Pantha was excluded. When Buddha discovered this he refused to sit down to breakfast until the despised disciple was bidden to the feast.² And when

¹ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 11; Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 5; Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih, ch. 17. Compare the account of Chulla-Panthaka in Jātaka (Chalmers), p. 14, and see note at p. 20: also Rogers' Buddhaghosha's Parables, ch. VI.

² Fa-chü-pi-yü-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 1,353, tr. about 300); Ch'u-yao-ching, ch. 19 (Bun., No. 1,321, tr. 399.)

Little Pantha was expelled by his elder brother as being incorrigibly dull and stupid, Buddha brought him back and would not allow him to be expelled. He comforted the sorrowing disciple and gave him the words "Sweeping broom" to repeat and keep in mind. In the effort to do so the intellectual faculties of the poor dullard were stimulated, and he came to see that the two words meant that all attachment to things of this world was defilement and to be swept away by the broom of Buddha's doctrine.¹ Having entered on the good way he went on towards perfection, and became noted as one of the first disciples in "mental aiming at excellence"; he was chiefly occupied with the mind and mental contemplation.² By his

¹ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, l.c.

² Abhidharma-pa-kan-tu-lun, ch. 27 (Bun., No. 1,273, tr. 383); Abhidharma-fa-chih-lun, ch. 18 (Bun., No. 1,275, tr. about 660.)

determined perseverance he attained a thorough insight into religious truths, and expounded these with such power and eloquence that even giddy nuns, who came to laugh and mock, remained to be impressed and edified.¹ In process of time Little Pantha attained arhatship, with the powers of flying through the air and of assuming any form at pleasure. He had also other miraculous powers, and on one occasion he produced 500 strange oxen and proceeded to ride one of them.²

This arhat is sometimes pictured as an old man sitting under and leaning against a dead tree, one hand having a fan and the other held up in the attitude of teaching. He is also represented as a venerable sage sitting on a mat-covered seat and holding a long staff surmounted by a hare's head.

¹ Fa-chü-pi-yü-ching, l.c.

² Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, chs. 3 and 22.

17 and 18. There does not seem to be any historical account of the first introduction of the Lohan into the Halls of Buddhist temples, nor can it be ascertained when the number of these guardians was raised from sixteen to eighteen in Chinese temples. The earliest mention of Eighteen Lohan known to the present writer is in the "Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi" (Bun. No. 1,661) ch. 33, where there is a reference to the sixteen arhats commissioned by Buddha. The author, who lived in the Sung period, adds "at present eighteen are talked of." In some of the temples, down to the present time, the number of the Lohan is still sixteen, *e.g.*, in the Pao-ning-ssŭ, near Mount Omi, visited by Mr. Baber.¹ Some Chinese have supposed that there were formerly eighteen gods regarded as protectors of Buddhist temples, and that the Lohan

¹ "Travels and Researches in Western China," p. 31.

took their places. But we know nothing about these gods, and the supposition need not be taken into consideration. Another suggestion, and one which seems not improbable, is that the Buddhists in this matter imitated a certain Chinese institution. When we read the history of the reigns of T'ang Kao Tsu and T'ai Tsung, we find the record of an event which may have given the idea of grouping the Lohan in the Chief Hall of a temple and of raising their number to eighteen. In the year 621 T'ai Tsung instituted within the palace grounds a very select college composed of eighteen members. These dons were officials of high standing, of sound learning and good literary attainments, and faithful adherents and personal friends of the founder. Among them were such famous men as Tu Ju-mei and his friend Fang Hsüan-ling; Yü Chi-ming, learned scholar and loyal statesman, who wrote

the preface to Yuan-chuang's "Hsi-yü-chi"; Lu Tê-ming, and K'ung Ying-ta. The members took their turns in batches of three in attending on duty, and while in the college they were liable to be visited and interrogated by the emperor. He had portraits of the members made for the college, and each portrait was furnished with a statement of the name, birthplace, and honours of the original. The merits of each were described in ornate verse by one of the number, Chu Liang. These favoured men were called the Shih-pa-hsüe-shih (十八學士) or Eighteen Cabinet Ministers, and they were popularly said to have *têng-ying-chou* (登瀛洲), to have become Immortals. It is this Hall of the Eighteen which I think may have led to the installation of the Eighteen Arhats in Buddha's Hall. The names of these venerable ones are given, and sometimes their stations and retinues

are added. There are also temples in which the Lohan are arranged in groups of three.

But these Eighteen Lohan have never received authoritative recognition, and they are not given even in the modern accepted Buddhist treatises. We find them, however, occasionally in modern Chinese works of art. The South Kensington Museum has a pair of bowls on which they are painted, and the British Museum has them on an incense-vase. This vase is remarkable for departing so far from the established doctrine of the Lohan as to represent three of the eighteen as boys or very young men. The modern Chinese artist, followed by the Japanese, apparently takes the Lohan to be Immortals, and he shows them crossing to the Happy Land of Nirvāna or leading lives of unending bliss among the pines of the misty mountain-tops.

As to the persons who should be admitted as guardian Lohans of Buddha and his religion, there has been a great diversity of opinion, and consequently different worthies have been added in different places. In many old temples we find the 17th and 18th places given respectively to Nandimitra, and a second Pindola. This Nandimitra, in Chinese Ch'ing-yu (慶友), is the arhat already mentioned as describing the appointment and distribution of the Sixteen Arhats. As one of the additional Lohans we sometimes find the well-known Imperial patron of Buddhism, Liang Wu Ti (A.D. 502 to 550), or Kumārajiva, the great translator who flourished about A.D. 400. In some temples we find Maitreya or his supposed incarnation the Pu-tai-ho-shang, or Calico-bag (cushion) Monk. Pu-tai is also called A-mi-t'ê-Fou or Amitabha Buddha and he is represented as seated and holding the open end of the bag which is round his back. Some

representations have him sitting in the bag, which is like a cot, and three or six "thieves" are drawing it along or playing in one end of it. These "thieves," the deadly sins, are young lads with the well known two tufts of hair on their otherwise bald heads; they are not *ya-t'ou* in the sense of *slave-girls* or *daughters*. This monk is said to have lived in the sixth century A.D., but he was not honoured as a Lohan until modern times.¹ He is the special patron of tobacco-sellers, and his jolly fat little image often adorns their shop-fronts. Another interesting person sometimes found among the Eighteen Lohan is the Indian Buddhist Dharmatara (or Dharmatrata), in Chinese Fa-Chiu (法救). This is perhaps the Dharmatara who was a great master of Dhyāna and learned author, and lived about the middle of the first century of our era

¹ During the present dynasty he was created Ting-ying-ta-shi (定應大師).

probably. He is sometimes called a great Upāsaka, and is represented as receiving or introducing the Sixteen (or Eighteen) Lohan. Writing about Lhasa the learned Mr. Chandra Das has the following:—"In the Na-chu Lha Khang Chapel erected by one of the Sakya Lamas named Wang Chhyug Tsondu, were the most remarkable statue-like images of the Sixteen Sthaviras called Natan Chudug, arranged to represent the scene of their reception by Upashaka Dharma Tala, one of the most celebrated and devout Buddhists of ancient China."¹ In Tibet the Sixteen Arhats are called Sthaviras, and "Natan Chudug" means *Sixteen Sthaviras*. Then "Dharma Tala" is for Dharmatara, who was Indian, not Chinese. He is also now one of the Eighteen Lohan in Tibet as in China. Another illustrious personage installed as one of these Lohan in many temples is Kuanyin

¹ "Narrative of a Journey to Lhasa," p. 145.

P'usa. He appears as such in his capacity as Protector of Buddhism and Buddhists.



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